

RADIO ADDRESS GIVEN BY PRINCE KONOE, PREMIER OF JAPAN

November 5, 1933.

I have the honour to state the views of the Japanese Government concerning the establishment of a lasting peace in East Asia-- a task that has been handed down to us by the Emperor Meiji whose illustrious virtues we are commemorating today.

Following upon the capture of Canton, Hankow, the heart of China, was also taken, so that the so-called "Middle Plain", with its seven great cities, which virtually sustain the life of modern China, has now fallen into our hands. There is an old Chinese saying to the effect that "he who controls the Middle Plain controls the whole land". Thus the Chiang Kaishek government is no longer anything but a local regime. Japan has achieved these results without overstraining her fighting power, which has always been kept at a level sufficient to ward off any intervention from the outside. We are moved, as never before, by the consciousness that this has been made possible by the august virtue of His Majesty, the Emperor, and the heroic efforts of his valiant officers and men.

In thinking of the glorious victories, our deepest gratitude goes out first to the tens of thousands of those who have been killed and wounded. Their noble sacrifices impose upon us, I feel, a two-fold obligation: First, to follow in the footsteps of those willing martyrs, and to achieve at all costs the ends for which they have fought, and secondly, to repay their services by doing all in our power for their families

The Key to China's fate is indeed in our hands. What then do we want? We want not the destruction of China but her prosperity and progress; not the conquest of China but co-operation with her. Working hand in hand with the Chinese people awakened to a new consciousness of themselves as a nation of the Orient, we want to build up an East Asia which is truly peaceful and settled. Let me say, no country is better aware than Japan of the ardent national aspirations of the Chinese, nor feels more keenly the need that China shall vindicate her position as a completely independent state.

It is a historical necessity that the three great neighbour nations -- China, Manchoukuo and Japan -- while fully retaining their sovereign independence should stand closely united in their common duty of safeguarding East Asia. It is deeply to be deplored not only for the sake of Japan but for that of all Asia that the attainment of goal has been thwarted through the mistaken policy of the Kuomintang Government. The policy of the Kuomintang Government was borrowed from a transient fashion of the period that followed the Great War. It did not originate in the native intelligence and good sense of the Chinese people. In particular, the conduct of that government, which in its efforts to stay in power cared not whether the nation was left a prey to Communism or relegated to a minor colonial status, cannot but be regarded as treason toward those many patriotic Chinese who had risked

their lives in order to erect a new China. It was in those circumstances that Japan, reluctant as she was to be involved in the tragedy of two great kindred nations fighting against each other, was compelled to take up arms against the Chiang Kai-shek regime.

Japan fervently desires the awakening of China. Let me hope that wise and foreseeing Chinese will be swift to assume leadership and to guide their nation back to the right path, and lead the rejuvenated state forward in the fulfillment of our common mission in East Asia. Already in Peking and Nanking signs of rebirth have appeared. And in the wide plains to the north and west, a new Mongolia is springing to life. Let the wonderful Chinese people, who in the past 5000 years of their history have again and again illumined the annals of civilization, prove once more their greatness by sharing in the stupendous task of creating a new Asia. Participation even by the Nationalist Government need not be rejected if, returning to the true spirit of China, it should repudiate its past policy, remould its personnel and offer to join in the work as a thoroughly regenerated regime.

The nations of the world must surely be able to have a clear comprehension of these new developments in East Asia.

It is undisputed history that China heretofore has been a victim of the rivalry between the powers whose imperialistic ambitions have constantly imperilled her tranquillity and independence,

Japan realizes the need of fundamentally rectifying such a state of affairs and she is eager to see a new order established in East Asia -- a new structure of peace based on true justice.

Japan is in no way opposed to collaboration with foreign power nor does she desire to impair their legitimate rights and interests. If the powers, understanding her true motives, will formulate policies suited to the new conditions, Japan will be glad to cooperate with them. Japan's zeal for combatting Communism is certainly well known by this time. The aim of the Comintern is to sovietize the Orient and to overturn the world. Japan is firmly determined to eradicate the communistic influence which is behind the so-called "long term resistance" of the Chiang regime. Germany and Italy, our allies against Communism, have manifested their sympathies with Japan's aims in East Asia and we are profoundly grateful for the great encouragement that their moral support has given our nation during this crisis. In the present emergency, it is necessary for Japan not only to strengthen still further her ties with those countries but also to collaborate with them in a common world outlook towards the reconstruction of international order.

What the world needs to-day is a lasting peace based upon a foundation of justice and fair dealing. It cannot be denied that the principles governing international relations in the recent past have in practice tended only to preserve and perpetuate with cast-iron rigidity an inequitable state of affairs.

In this irrational arrangement lies the fundamental cause of the collapse of the Covenant of the League of Nations along with many other pacts and treaties. We should not allow international justice to remain merely a beautiful phrase, but we should strive to create a new framework of peace, in accordance with a comprehensive view of all human activities--commerce, immigration, natural resources, culture, etc.-- and in keeping with the actual conditions and the progress of events, I firmly believe that this is the only way to overcome the universal crisis which confronts us to-day.

Placing absolute trust in the men at the front, the Japanese at home are silently engaged in speeding war-time production and in making preparation for protracted hostilities. Here we have a modern reflection of the old Japanese spirit. History shows that our national fortunes waxed or waned in proportion to the degree in which the whole people were consciously aware of Japan's national policy. Knowing that a lasting peace in the Orient has always been the aim of our Sovereign, we cannot but be deeply conscious of our moral obligations as His subjects. It is high time that all of us should face squarely these responsibilities--namely, the mission to construct a new order on a moral basis-- a free union of all the nations of East Asia, in mutual reliance and complete self-determination. What does this mean? What sacrifices does this call for? What preparations are required? These are matters of which we must obtain a clear understanding and concerning which we cannot afford to make any mistake. If there is anyone

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who believes that the fall of Canton and Hankow marks a turning point and that an immediate return to normal conditions is soon to arrive, he simply has not grasped the significance of the present affair. There could be nothing more dangerous than that. Japan's undertaking to erect a new East Asia implies that she has entered upon a long period of creative work in all the activities of her national life. In that sense the real war has just begun. If we are to make of ourselves a truly great nation, we must stand united as one man and pursue with firm conviction and adamant resolve the task of consolidation and construction overseas as well as at home.

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C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, HAYASHI, Kaoru, Chief of the Archive Section, Japanese Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached in English consisting of 6 pages and entitled "Radio address given by Prince KONOE, Premier of Japan, November 3, 1933" is an exact and true copy of an official document of the Japanese Foreign Office.

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 9th day of April 1947.

K. HAYASHI
Signature of Official

Witness : K. Urabe (seal)

日本首相近衛公のラジオ放送。

一九三八年十一月三日。

本日その明德を追慕申上げる明治天皇から、吾人が承け繼いで來た任務
東亞の永續的平和の確立に關し、私は、日本政府の所見を開陳する光榮
を有するものである。

廣東攻略に於いて、中國の野心たる漢口が又、我が占領する所と成つた
ので、事實上近代支那の主權たる大都市を含む所謂中原は、今や我が
手に歸したのである。一中原を制する者は天下を制する」と昔から支那
で言はれてゐる。斯くして蔣介石政府は最早一介の地方政權に過ぎなく
成つたのである。已に、その勢力を過使する事なくしてこの威張を収
めたのであつて、この能力は、常に外部よりの干渉が防げる程度に、維
持されて來てゐたのである。私は是ぞ、天皇陛下の「後威に依るもので
あると共に、陛下の武勇なる將兵の忠烈の表す所である」との感を益々深
めるのである。

赫々たる戰勝を思ふにつけても、吾人は先づ、或は傷き或は戦歿したる

數萬の人々に深厚なる感激の意を致すものである。彼等の崇高なる犧牲は、吾人に、二重の責務を負はすのである。即ち第一に、是等進んで殉じたる人々の後に行き、高難を排して戦ひの目的を貫徹すること、第二に、その遺族の爲めに能ふ限りの事をして彼等の奉公に酬ゆる事である。

中國の運命は、實に、吾人の手中に握られてゐるのである。然らば吾人は何を欲するか。それは中國の破壤に非ずして、その繁榮と進歩であり又中國の征服を願はずして中國との協力を希望する。東洋の一國家としての新意識に自覺めたる中國人と協同して、常に平和であり安定したる東亞を建設せん事を、吾人は欲する。私をして言はしむれば、如何なる國も、日本種、中國人の強烈なる民族的希求を知悉せるものなく、又日本種、中國の完全なる獨立國家としての其地位を、正當に立證させる必要ある事を、痛切に感じてゐるものはない。

中國滿洲國日本といふ隣接した三大國家が、東亞防衛なる共同任務を擔ふて密接に聯繫して立つ可きものなる事は、歴史的必然である。こ

四部 北京及び廣原に於ては新舊に古が生れんとし、てある。過去五十年の歴史に、
北共 同の使命を達成する爲めに、國家を正道の引き、其の明達を以て、其の北に、
日 本は中國の完を成す。望んである。願はくば其の明達を以て、其の北に、
る 待なかつたのである。たが、石介と餘なく干戈を交へる

の 如き中にあつて、日本は、二大國と、親戚と、親戚と、親戚と、親戚と、親戚と、
を 討し幾に幾に、愛國も、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、
地 國多に幾に幾に、愛國も、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、
力 國多に幾に幾に、愛國も、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、
國 國多に幾に幾に、愛國も、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、
民 國多に幾に幾に、愛國も、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、
民 國多に幾に幾に、愛國も、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、
獨 國多に幾に幾に、愛國も、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、對する、

再三再四、文明の記録を輝かした感心な支那民族を、新亞細亞建設といふ大業に参與させて、その偉大さを今一展證明させよう。國民黨政府と雖も中國本來の精神に復歸して過去の政策を拋棄し、その人事を刷新し、全無再生した新政權として、この事業に参加を早出でるならば、あながちその参加を拒む必要はないのである。

世界の諸國家は、東亞に於ける是等の新しき進展に就いて、切實に理解し得る筈である。中國がこれ迄、己が泰平と獨立を絶えず危殆に陥八れて來た列國の、帝國主義的野心の爭奪の犠牲と成つて來た事は、歴史上否む事は出來ない。日本は、斯る事態の根本的匡正の必要を認め、いたすら東亞の新秩序、即ち公明正大な基盤の上に新平和機構の確立を、幾んぞ望んである。

日本は決して外國との間に反對せず、又外國の正當なる權益を毀損する事を欲しない。列國にして、日本の眞意を諒解して新事態に適應する政策を講じてるならば、日本は喜んで列國と協同する。共產主義打倒の爲めの日本の熱意は、固かに既によく知れてゐる。コミンテルンの目的は、東洋

一轉機を創するものであり、入正常状態への復歸が直ぐに達せらるゝものであると信ずる者があるならば、彼は實に現事態の意義を把握してゐない者である。何事も是より危険なるものはあり得ない。日本が新東亞建設を企てた事は、取りも直さず、日本がその國家としての生活の全活動分野に於て、長期建設の時期に入つたのである。その意味に於て、眞の戦は開始された計りである。若し吾人が眞に偉大なる國民たらんとするならば、一體となり、固い信念と鐵石の決意を持つて、國內並びに海外で、総合建設の事業を遂行せねばならない。